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ABSTRACT

Policy issues concerning foreign students that affect decision makers of U.S. colleges and universities were studied, along with the views of institutional representatives concerning the presence of foreign students, problems areas they perceive, and the formation and implementation of policy regarding these students. Attention was focused on three states: Florida, Ohio, and California, as well as two institutions in other states that are greatly involved in international programs: Columbia University and Michigan State University. In addition to the college staff and students, opinions were solicited from college trustees, state legislators, and aides to governors. The following policy issues were covered: the survival of certain fields of study in the United States; foreign students as "filler"; the export of higher education services; benefits to the local, state, and national economy; the special costs of foreign students; cost-benefit pricing of foreign student education; and the foreign student cash-flow issue. Arguments for careful inquiry by the institution into the question of foreign students, and implications for institutional organization are briefly considered. Issues that especially call for national attention regarding economic, socio-organizational, and educational areas are also addressed. A list of positions of interviewees by state and institution is appended. (SW)

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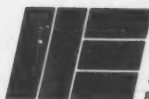
absence of decision

IIE Research Report Number One

FOREIGN STUDENTS IN AMERICAN COLLEGES AND
UNIVERSITIES
a report on policy formation and the lack thereof by

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Contents

Introduction	iii
Preface	v
A Note on Terminology	vii
I. Who Cares and Why?	1
II. Where You Sit and What You See	5
<i>Governors' offices</i>	5
<i>State legislators</i>	6
<i>Boards of regents, departments of postsecondary education, and the various educational coordinating agencies</i>	7
<i>College and university presidents</i>	7
<i>Deans and department chairmen</i>	8
<i>Officials on the student-affairs side of college and university administration and other administrators</i>	8
<i>Faculty</i>	9
<i>Students</i>	10
<i>The local community</i>	11
III. Central Policy Questions and Issues	12
1. The Economic Balance Sheet	12
<i>The survival of certain fields of study in the United States</i>	12
<i>Foreign students as "filler"</i>	14
<i>The export of higher-education services</i>	14
<i>Benefits to the local, state, and national economy</i>	16
<i>The special costs of foreign students</i>	16
<i>Cost-benefit pricing of foreign-student education</i>	17
<i>The foreign-student cash-flow issue</i>	17

2. The Educational Balance Sheet	18
<i>Enriching the classroom—"the humanist presumption"</i>	18
<i>Negative educational and social attributes</i>	18
<i>Brain gain or brain drain?</i>	19
<i>American blacks and foreign students</i>	19
3. Politics and the Foreign Student	19
<i>Within the university</i>	19
<i>Institutional image</i>	19
<i>In pursuit of foreign-policy goals</i>	20
4. The Optimality Dilemma	20
5. The Decision-Making Process and Institutional Response	21
<i>Demand projections</i>	22
<i>Recruiting</i>	22
<i>Special courses and programs</i>	23
<i>Institutional restraint</i>	24
<i>Cooperative services</i>	24
<i>Leadership</i>	25
IV. A Strategy of Institutional Inquiry	26
<i>To look or not to look?</i>	26
<i>Implications for institutional organization</i>	30
<i>The case for self-study</i>	32
V. Issues for National Attention	34
<i>Economic</i>	34
<i>Socio-organizational</i>	35
<i>Educational</i>	37
VI. Summary and Conclusions	40
Appendix: Positions of Interviewees	43

Introduction

Foreign students came to the United States in growing numbers after World War II, like the many waves of immigration over the previous centuries, largely unplanned and impelled by a variety of forces, partly push and partly pull. The numbers continued to increase through thick and thin, approximately doubling each decade. Nothing seemed to impede the flow—the end of Camelot, the Vietnam War, rising criticism of the role of the United States in the world—despite recognition throughout the United States itself of serious problems in the economy, society, and polity. Even the United States' harshest foreign critics continued to send their youth to this country for higher education and were prepared to pay the mounting cost. By the beginning of the 1980s, the annual census by the Institute of International Education (IIE) indicated that there were more than 500,000 foreigners with student visas enrolled in colleges and universities in the United States (and this number may not reflect all the foreigners studying in this country), with the possibility that this number might exceed one million before the end of the century. A high proportion of these came with their own or their own government's funds, very few with U.S. federal government support.

Against this background a good deal of research and discussion has been carried on about the foreign student in the United States. Most notably a committee of the American Council on Education (ACE), led by Richard Berendzen, president of American University in Washington, has prepared a thoughtful report entitled *Foreign Students and Institutional Policy: Toward an agenda for action* (Washington: ACE, 1982). This committee observed that "policies in U.S. universities and colleges concerning the admission, education, and social accommodation of foreign students vary from the comprehensive to the nonexistent, and programs, from the carefully designed and well administered to the ad hoc and expedient." The committee concluded that "institutions that seek to serve foreign students should formulate sound policies to guide administrators, faculty, and students toward a constructive and productive relationship with and for foreign students. Such a formulation should include commitment to a program of self-regulation and self-study." Moreover, "Institutions should encourage faculty interest in, and attention to, international education, for faculty support and participation are vital to creating a receptive climate for foreign students."

In the last year, IIE added to its long-standing involvement in facilitating the process of international educational exchange a concern about the state of knowledge underlying decisions about policy and practice in this field. IIE established a research and policy unit with the purpose of examining the effects of international educational exchanges on individuals, on such major institutions as universities and industry, and on the political and economic goals of nations. The present document is aimed at improving the process of policymaking at the level of institutions of higher education, the state level, and, less directly, the federal level. IIE wishes in this document to supplement and in some sense move beyond the Berendzen report.

In order to encourage and strengthen the policy-formulation process as well as the faculty involvement recommended by the ACE committee, Craufurd Goodwin and Michael Nacht set out to examine, at the grass roots, how U.S. institutions that deal directly with foreign students view the presence of those students today, what problems they perceive, and how they do, in fact, go about forming policy and directing action in this arena. Whereas the Berendzen report may be seen as a statement from the General Staff, this document is a narrative from the trenches.

We hope and expect that the findings in this document will interest those who determine or must take into account the behavior of the U.S. higher-education community. The findings and the conclusions represent the views of Goodwin and Nacht, not necessarily of IIE. It is our strong hope that their observations and recommendations may offer guidance and inspiration to institutions that have not to date thought through carefully the issues under review. We are especially grateful to the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation for the means to carry out this project.

Wallace B. Edgerton
President
Institute of International Education

Preface

With the time and resources available to us, it seemed impractical to employ a systematic methodology of questionnaires and structured interviews. Moreover, with the enormous and heterogeneous universe of U.S. higher education stretched before us, it seemed impossible to produce precise analytical results that would meet rigorous tests of statistical significance. To compound our problems, we were not sure just what we were looking for until we found it. Hence, in this project we adopted a relatively informal technique of loosely structured interviews, akin to those of the investigative reporter, coupled with an attempt to organize what we found into analytical categories useful for the decision maker. Our aim from the outset was to strike the middle ground between rigorous scientific research and journalism.

Rather than select information at random from among several thousand institutions of higher education throughout the country, we selected three states for concentrated attention: Florida, Ohio, and California. These were by no means random choices. We recognize that they are not representative of the nation (which states are?) and, in fact, have distinct characteristics described below. Yet we believe that these states may be the shadow of what is to come for others: the front of the wave, bellwethers for the United States. All three states had several features in common, notably large and growing numbers of foreign students in a wide range of institutions and attention to this phenomenon by people outside the community of higher education. In other respects the states were very different culturally, geographically, and economically. These differences were as important to us in gaining understanding as were the similarities.

Within these three states we selected for scrutiny a number of institutions, from community colleges to major research universities. (The list is attached as an appendix together with the titles of persons we interviewed.) We interviewed also members of boards of regents, people in departments of higher education, staffs of legislative committees, aides to governors, and others in positions of authority with an interest in the questions under review. Then we paid visits to these institutions, depending heavily upon persons designated by their presidents to arrange discussions. We visited as well two institutions outside our three states that have a well-known commitment to international programs: Columbia and Michigan State universities. We record our deep gratitude to all those involved in our visits and our profound sense of respect for the spirit of openness and cooperation that pervades U.S. higher education. We were certainly not intent on accumulating piles of dirty linen, but this was laid out openly before us along with the clean. No one disputed our purpose or afforded anything but the warmest hospitality and fullest cooperation.

In conducting this inquiry we thought of Alexis de Toqueville as our role model, certainly more than George Gallup or the social scientists who inhabit the departments and schools whence we come. Our research method we viewed as anal-

ogons to tossing a salad, on each toss adding some new ingredients suggested by the dinner guests and removing other ingredients as they wilted. In some cases, where persons had not thought seriously about our subject, we reviewed the issues with them and then obtained their reactions "off the cuff."

The culinary metaphor was popular with many of those whom we visited. Rather than a dietetic salad, or even a prescribed menu, however, one person urged us in this report to set forth an ample smorgasbord of ideas from which the reader may pick and choose. This became our goal. Bon appetit!

A Note on Terminology

Although a topic such as policy towards foreign students in U.S. higher education might seem on the surface straightforward and unambiguous, it conceals, in fact, a great deal of complexity and variety. To begin, the notion of policy, defined in Webster's *New Collegiate Dictionary* as a "method of action selected from among alternatives and in light of given conditions to guide and determine present and future decisions," implies a greater degree of coherence and forethought than we observed in most places in our travels. Next, the term *foreign student* conceals not only diversity among the levels of achievement, from undergraduate freshman to dissertation-stage doctoral candidate, but also varieties of foreigners, from those with student visas of various kinds (mainly F and J) through those with tourist, diplomatic, or immigrant status to refugees, persons granted political asylum, and the undocumented aliens. Although these categories may be distinct in the eyes of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, they tend to blend together before a harassed college or university administrator. Administrators of one major urban institution told us they estimate that less than one-third of their alien students are on student visas. Indeed, even the category "alien" caused them some difficulty because of its potentially pejorative connotation. They were under pressure to use the wider classification *nonnative speaker of English*.

The characteristics that make foreign students distinct from others in U.S. higher education were perceived to be of different significance in different cases. They are (not in the order of importance) first, lack of English language facility; second, cultural difference; and third, political allegiance to another government, which generates second-order issues ranging from national security to complexity in arranging for exchange of currency.

Views about students also tended to differ according to the source of their financial support. Sponsored students (with funds from a third party in the United States or the homeland) seemed most popular among school administrators. One person referred to them as "double-filtered." Students who required financial aid from the U.S. college or university were clearly a mixed blessing. The phenomenon of the *freelance* foreign student, on his own funds, was perceived as a financial blessing but a source of problems as well. The attitude of the freelancers towards teachers and alma mater was often seen as troublesome, emphasizing their rights as purchasers of educational services and facilities rather than accepting their academic obligations as students.

A number of thoughtful persons with whom we met suggested that some useful distinctions might be drawn among foreign students according to country or continent of origin, so that generalizations about one might be inapplicable to another. We report these without judgment as to their merit. Students from Europe or the countries of the "Old Commonwealth," it was argued, typically had few adjustment problems and in the eyes of their teachers blended in easily with U.S.

students. A number of students from the less-developed countries, on the other hand, even when blessed with exceptional talent, required a large amount of personal attention and a number of labor-intensive special services. Asian students in particular often had intractable language problems (those from Hong Kong, Singapore, and other former or present British colonies excepted). Students from the "advanced developing" and OPEC countries, an increasing number in recent years and often supplied with generous support from their home governments or private sources, were occasionally described as "consumerist" in philosophy and lacking in good study habits. They seemed to view themselves as having acquired a product and not as adventurers in a new culture or the new world of academe. U.S. faculty seem to have most reservations about the contribution this last category of foreign student offers to the U.S. academic scene.

Finally, the term *U.S. higher education* conceals a variety of types of institutions that is almost breathtaking. What, one may ask, does a bucolic, high-quality liberal arts college with 35 foreign students have in common with a bustling urban community college with 4,500 foreign students in a student body of 43,000 where perhaps 70 percent of all students consider English as their second language? The differences are more obvious than the commonalities.

We discovered in our conversations that certain familiar words caused great offense when used in relation to this topic. For example, the term *foreign* has been resolutely abandoned on some campuses for the word *international*, which we ourselves find on the whole rather less satisfactorily descriptive. Even the nouns *question* and *problem* raised hackles in some places when applied to this subject. One group of faculty insisted we speak only of *challenges* and *opportunities*. To those who find our continuing use of offending terms in what follows disagreeable, we apologize in advance.

I. Who Cares and Why?

Not surprisingly, perhaps, we encountered three types of individuals in our conversations: those who had thought seriously and hard about foreign students in the United States, those who had formed views about some aspect of the phenomenon, and those whose eyes merely glazed over when the subject was mentioned. Probably because of preselection, most were in the first two categories. But the reasons why individuals were drawn to the subject varied widely. These ranged from very narrow interpretations of self-interest to broad philosophical positions rooted in particular conceptions of proper U.S. educational and foreign policies and of the relationships that should hold among the various parts of humankind.

We could discern at least eight relatively distinct reasons for interest. First, some leaders in higher education are attempting to construct a new vision of the college or university in the United States at the end of the twentieth century. Just as major businesses have moved abroad and become multinational, they argue, so must higher education jettison its provincialism. In some cases this vision is symbolized by placing the word "international" in the name or motto of the institution. Yet, typically, we found the articulation of this concept somewhat vague; it rests on the conviction that students from other countries have a crucial part to play in higher education. We heard appeals for an "interchange of students in a multicultural world," for a campus-wide "international commitment," and for the creation in the university of a "U.N. all the time." One administrator with a background in psychology claimed that education in a single culture "narrows your dimensions of understanding and cognition." We were told that "interaction with other cultures can change the nature of a student's relations with other people" and that "Americans must fight their natural geo-

graphic and political isolation by devices such as foreign students on their campuses." But just what exactly the foreign student's role might be was seldom spelled out in any detail. In cities such as Miami, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, it was easy to sympathize with educational administrators who concluded that they must run hard just to stay even with the internationalization of the society around them. But the comparison between internationalizing higher education and extending markets overseas seemed to be receiving far more lip service than scrutiny.

Second, there were those who cried out at the unplanned increase of foreign students within their institutions. Sometimes these cries were spiteful, angry, and xenophobic. But just as often they came from concerned individuals in student affairs administration and the foreign-student adviser in particular, who recoiled at the inadequate preparations that had been made for foreign students. For them the United States' acceptance of these foreign students was like inviting guests to your home when you have no guestroom. They insisted that admissions from abroad be contingent on the availability of facilities and services at home. In order to determine what facilities and services to provide, it was necessary to decide how many foreign students to admit, and this in turn required consideration of their place in and contribution to the academic community. The diversity of higher education and the varying objectives of institutions prevented any simple or single answer to this question. The foreign student might be perceived as an educative element in a liberal arts college, an essential participant in research at a major university, or a contributor to the full-time equivalent (f.t.e.) count in a public technical institute.

Third, many in U.S. higher education are prepared to face serious demographic pressures in the years ahead. In most cases the pressures are downward and raise questions about how to fill classes and dormitories, deliver stable or rising f.t.e.'s to state governments, and perform the chores of research projects traditionally reserved for U.S. graduate students. The demographic nemesis is capricious. Sometimes it hits private education, sometimes public, sometimes the community college, and sometimes the research university. But in all cases the thought has occurred to the curators of these institutions that perhaps the solution to a decline in domestic demand for education lies abroad. Overseas there may be unclaimed students, and perhaps even those who can pay their own way.

Closely related to the relatively long-run problems created for U.S. higher education by changes in demographic trends is the fourth reason for attention to foreign students: difficulties generated by fluctuations in the U.S. economy. These difficulties are not merely reflections of the business cycle, with the ebb and flow of gross national product and other aggregates; they are also the result of geographical movement and the shifts in fashion and priority that characterize a free market system into and out of such fields as engineering and the humanities, from North to South, East to West. The countervailing potential of foreign students as sources of tuition revenue or f.t.e. counts is not hard for any harassed administrator to comprehend, regardless of the complications they may create.

indeed the extent to which the welcome to foreign students in the United States in both public and private institutions is dependent on the existence of excess capacity is of deep concern to many people. Outside the educational world a local community may perceive foreign students as a source of effective demand for goods and services and tax revenues, as a supply of labor for new industry, or perhaps even as contacts for business abroad.

Fifth, the subject of foreign students comes quickly to the fore in public educational institutions when state legislatures become conscious of the subject—as they have recently. A discovery of recent years is that state governments may act with blinding speed in delivering punitive action, and if counterarguments are not immediately on hand, it may be too late. The stimulus for legislative action may be a financial crisis in the state treasury, revulsion against some foreign action (most notably, of late, the Iranian hostage crisis), the arrival of a flood of refugees, voter resentment against the acceptance of foreign over domestic applicants, or complaints against unintelligible teaching assistants. But the effect on the legislative psyche is the same. Acts mandating quotas or special fees may be passed, restrictive budget measures introduced, and amendments offered to higher-education legislation. Any of these actions made in haste can be countered effectively only with evidence and arguments that may require months of careful preparation. If these are not ready in advance, the punitive measures may indeed be implemented. An appreciation of the seriousness of those changes that may result from precipitate government action, sometimes gained from the experience of other states, has served powerfully, like the prospect of hanging, to concentrate the minds of leaders in higher education. To those who said it was possible still to keep quiet and play dumb one university regent replied, "There is no dodging the issue now. It is upon us."

Whereas the actions of state governments are virtually within the family of higher education, actions of the federal government, the sixth reason for attention to this topic, are perceived at the institutional level almost as the inexplicable and unpredictable behavior of a foreign body. Moreover, they often seem almost capricious. The threat of cutbacks in support for foreign students has been prominent in recent years. Ironically, this has been combined with a rather generous visa policy, which has encouraged the institutions themselves to accept whomever they will. Overall there is a sense of the lack of any coherent national policy and therefore all the more need for close attention at the local level. Proposals such as the Simpson-Mazzoli bill now before Congress to require most foreign students to return home upon completion of their studies, as well as concerns about possible reductions in funding for the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and the U.S. Information Agency (USIA), stimulate some institutions both to explore what prompts such actions and to prepare arguments on the other side. It was poignant to hear some persons express their simple faith that a federal policy must be there somewhere, to be understood if only sufficient diligent attention were devoted to a search for it.

Seventh, we encountered an impressive number of individuals who were pre-

pared to shape their local institutional policies with respect to foreign students to achieve larger national foreign-policy objectives. In most cases they did not appreciate the inherent ambiguity and even potentially contradictory character of these goals. They spoke in varying degrees of helping to improve worldwide understanding, of instilling good feelings towards the United States in the rest of the world, and of strengthening the United States' capacity to compete effectively in world markets. Sometimes the translations of their hopes were carried beyond the level of rhetoric, but not often. We had expected local industry and trade unions to be especially sensitive to the foreign-policy significance of foreign students, particularly to the implications for national competitiveness in such industries as microelectronics and defense. To our surprise they were not, although some suggested that the upcoming growth in biotechnology might change the mood.

Finally, in addition to impinging on large questions of the economy and of foreign policy, the foreign-student presence overlaps a wide range of other issues and therefore receives attention indirectly as a result. In particular, we found that students from abroad are often identified with the urban sector in areas of rural-urban tension. And where bilingual education is an issue, foreign students are sometimes perceived by the critics as strengthening the position of the advocates. At a regional and national level, service to foreign students becomes connected to and supportive of such initiatives as Caribbean Basin development and Pacific Rim integration. Proposals to ease out-of-state tuition levels charged to foreign students also ran afoul of certain interstate conflicts involving cross-border charges for educational exchange, from kindergarten through graduate school. At some universities that are striving for quality, the policy of open admission for in-state applicants is a major roadblock. Yet when a program is declared *impacted* (meaning crowded or full), one consequent condition is that no foreign students may be admitted. In making the decision about impactedness, then, a university may be forced to face a trade-off between quality and international diversity in the student body. At a basic philosophical level the suggestion of raising the cost to foreign students came into conflict with the longstanding U.S. view that education is a public good that should have a minimal price for everyone. Some observers remarked that the entire range of questions surrounding foreign students reflected the struggle in the United States between isolationism and pressure for greater integration within the world.

II. Where You Sit and What You See

A characteristic that must impress any traveler through the U.S. academic landscape is the extraordinary degree of decentralization of decision making in most institutions of higher learning. Even such an issue as the reception and treatment of foreign students, which most would claim does not lie at the heart of the educational endeavor, may require the involvement of federal, state, and local bureaucracies and legislatures; boards of regents and trustees; central, school, and departmental administrators; faculty and students; and the community surrounding a campus. Undoubtedly, in some respects this decentralization is the system's glory: it assures wide participation, dispersion of power, and accountability. However, it is also a potential source of confusion, policy sclerosis, and mystery to analysts of the process.

Although the individuals we encountered in our travels, as one would expect, differed widely in their views on foreign-student issues, it is possible to venture some cautious generalizations about the evident effect of their position in the decision-making process on their perception of it.

Governors' offices

In our small sample we found that the state governors and their staffs typically took a large and generous view toward foreign students, even though the subject was not often on their minds. It appeared that they viewed an open and friendly stance towards foreign students as appropriate for any state that welcomed foreign customers, investment, and tourism—as most do. In several states that are seeking to attract high-technology industry, the governor's office did recognize foreign students emerging from graduate programs in fields such as engineering and computer science as a crucial component of the local labor force. It may well

be that if federal law compels the bulk of foreign students to return home, the governors' ardor may cool. At present, state governments seem so concerned with the budgeting crises of their state treasuries and the efforts to translate the Reagan administration's "new federalism" into workable programs that the issue of foreign students simply does not loom very large in their policy purview.

State legislators

Legislators stand on the front lines of contact between citizens and higher education. Depending upon their political strength and personal predilections, they constitute the litmus test of voter attitudes. To the extent that they have weight among their colleagues, they may translate these attitudes into legislative action of some kind.

In general, we heard reports of growing legislative sensitivity to a variety of foreign-student issues. Perhaps of greatest delicacy is the situation where a local child is denied admission to a program that includes foreign students. Such incidents are capable of generating intense local media attention and, in a few cases, sufficient righteous indignation within the legislature to produce a direct reaction. A response of equal vigor was reserved for demonstrations on a local campus by foreign students either against some other foreign nation, a faction within their home state, or worst of all, against the United States. Demonstrations by Iranian students, of course, raised blood pressures to their highest levels in years. But reflections of other world controversies on U.S. soil (Arab-Israeli, Greek-Turkish, etc.) were almost as unpopular. The general posture in these cases at the moment of the incident tended to be "send them all home." More complex reactions came from legislators to the occasional charge from some constituents that the training of foreign students gave support to competitors overseas. In most cases such a link seems too tenuous to raise local passions, especially since it is often argued that a majority of technically trained graduates remain to enrich local industry in areas where there are insufficient local personnel. We did hear stories of farmers questioning why the agricultural college of a state should be using their taxes to train experts to cure the plant diseases of their foreign competitors. But it remained an open question how serious and sustained legislative responses would be to such issues.

A nagging concern for some legislators, recognized increasingly by the universities, was the low-level disgruntlement expressed by constituents about the performance of foreign instructors, teaching assistants, and laboratory aides and technicians. The seriousness of this complaint varied across the country. Clearly any foreign accent presented more of a challenge to a midwestern undergraduate than did a Japanese accent in San Francisco or a Spanish accent in Miami. Nevertheless, we heard several times that in Middle America today "foreigner" connotes that incomprehensible college teacher who caused Johnny to receive a "C" in calculus. This attitude evidently contributes more to a general atmosphere of discontent than to a sudden pressure for action.

Even though the widespread conclusion expressed to us by university faculty

and administrators at public institutions was that legislators could never be persuaded to master the complexities and subtleties of the subject of foreign students, legislative aides disagreed. They suggested that if informed regularly and fully, legislators would be sympathetic and would probably establish "generous parameters" in addressing the issue. It is an uninformed legislator who is most dangerous, they claimed. These aides suggested that when well informed, the typical legislator's logic might proceed as follows: foreign students ► strengthened international relations ► healthy trade and industrial expansion ► prosperity in the state. At the moment, the legislators we encountered express their unease about foreign students in the form of questions to universities and requests for information. It seems clear that without satisfactory responses these can turn quickly into demands for action.

*Boards of regents, departments of postsecondary education,
and the various educational coordinating agencies*

These miscellaneous governing, administering, and integrating bodies tend to respond to the concerns of state legislatures. Accordingly, in them we encountered resonance in proportion to the level of legislative concern, but overall a growing sense of unease about the subject. We also heard impatience with the relaxed attitudes on some campuses towards legislative dissatisfaction. One chancellor told us that when angered, agitated lawmakers invariably expect "a body to be thrown out of the castle" on this as on other matters. Scholars, some officials claim, seem unable to comprehend these elementary political instincts. Potentially, boards of regents and their staffs seemed well equipped to respond to the foreign-student issue with detached and reasoned attention. However, a danger seems to be that, like the colleges and universities they represent, they may not address the subject until they are directly under the gun, by which time it may be too late to produce more than a defensive and one-sided reaction.

College and university presidents

The senior administrators of higher education differed widely in the intensity of their attention to foreign students. Many of those in the public sector certainly had their eyes trained on the state capitol, while eyes in the private sector were riveted to the balance sheet. To the extent that foreign students seemed to have relevance to their larger concerns, they tended to reflect seriously on this subject. In general, these officers were inclined to think of foreign students as an issue upon which a central administration should neither make rules nor formulate a considered position. One president suggested that the search for students was a "dean's property right" with which he dared not tamper. We were not certain whether this conclusion grew out of a sensitivity to the vicissitudes of academic politics or from a desire to delegate one more set of minor problems, but our inclination was that the latter motivation was more prevalent than the former. It was generally the case, however, that senior officers paid attention to the foreign-student issue in rough proportion to their professional experience abroad and their personal interest in international affairs.

Deans and department chairmen

The principal staff officers were the university administrators who, it was thought by themselves and by many others, should have primary responsibility for making decisions affecting foreign students. Yet, relatively few of these had exercised this responsibility carefully or consciously. Understandably, levels of attention tended to be proportional to numbers of foreign students present in the overall mix. But even where foreign students were in large and growing numbers these officials, often borne down with more pressing cares, lacked an appreciation of what issues were most critical and how they should be addressed. At this level of the administration, where f.t.e.'s and tuition dollars must often be delivered up to higher authorities as to Caesar on pain of loss of budget or faculty "lines," we sometimes encountered bitterness in the private sector concerning the policy of public institutions towards foreign students. As one dean put it, "They use our tax dollars to subsidize the competition and steal our very lifeblood."

Officials on the student-affairs side of college and university administration and other administrators

These administrators, with direct responsibility for solving a multitude of student problems, were, somewhat surprisingly to us, among the most enthusiastic advocates of the foreign student on campus. Several vice-presidents for student affairs had been foreign-student advisers on their way up the academic-administration ladder, and others had been Peace Corps volunteers or had served abroad in various capacities. Despite their responsibility to cope with foreign-student confrontations and occasional xenophobic outbreaks on campus, they seemed most likely to extol the virtues of a cosmopolitan campus environment and the foreign student's contributions to it. They could recount terrifying tales of how their hair had turned gray because of foreign students; one told of a seemingly innocuous public address by a guest of foreign students that attracted 1,000 armed members of a rival faction and how mayhem was averted by a ruse. But they concluded that it was all worthwhile and that foreign students contributed an indispensable element to campus life.

In general, the large penumbra of other academic administrators with whom we met—registrars, bursars, admissions directors, etc.—tended to regard foreign students as a time-consuming and demanding procedural and statistical irritant. With a suitable degree of loyalty most were reluctant to express their skepticism about the effects of decisions by their superiors, but their views surfaced nonetheless. They were especially willing to countenance substantial extra charges to foreign students for the extra work involved.

The foreign-student adviser was often the least influential figure in the entire organizational structure. Buffeted by events and conscious of impending change in one direction or another, advisers often were powerless to make their views known to higher-level policymakers or to have a voice in the planning process, if such a process was indeed under way. We developed a strong sense that in the reconsideration of these issues on college campuses the foreign-student adviser is

an unusual, well-informed resource who should be used as a catalyst, source of information, and accumulator of campus wisdom far more frequently than is presently the case.

Faculty

We heard from faculty every kind of comment concerning the presence of foreign students on campus. With such a heterogeneous group even the most cautious observations could be misleading. Moreover, the importance of faculty views and the sophistication of their understanding also varied widely. In high-quality liberal arts colleges the faculty usually were centrally involved in policy-making; in community colleges they were not. In small institutions faculty attention was on institutional policy, in large ones it was more on the department, faculty, or school.

Nevertheless, some patterns did seem to emerge. First, faculty who were currently or had been recently involved in technical-assistance efforts abroad were the most enthusiastic advocates of a substantial foreign-student presence on campus. They were joined by former Peace Corps volunteers and others with substantial experience overseas. Typically, this commitment reflected both a sense of the contribution human-capital transfers can make to international development and the continuing involvement of returning faculty through occasional service abroad or substantial specialized training programs at home. (It should be noted that foreign students who remained as immigrants were a special source of anguish to these faculty.) In certain areas faculty devotion was undoubtedly strengthened by an awareness that survival of their field at current levels probably depended upon the continued flow of students from abroad.

A wide range of faculty certainly perceive a continuing flow of foreign students as essential to their own professional welfare. In some fields such as agriculture and hotel management, this dependence seemed to be welcomed. We spoke with many faculty in these areas, whose programs had grown much larger than was needed to supply the U.S. market, who would have it no other way. In other areas such as engineering, physics, and computer science, it was appreciated that foreign students had become, temporarily at least, essential suppliers of labor (laboratory instructors and research assistants) and consumers of educational services for which there currently was depressed U.S. demand. But there was no joy in the circumstance, and these faculty often yearned for the "re-Americanization" of their programs. Some of these faculty seemed to feel shame at their dependence on foreign students and that having to recruit abroad dented morale. One engineer urged colleagues to "bite the bullet" and "go cold turkey" by giving up foreign students entirely. He lamented that they "lacked the guts."

Among faculty who did not have evident professional self-interest in foreign students (including some teaching in programs of international studies), somewhat to our surprise we noted there was a prevailing apathy and, in some cases, hostility to the foreign presence. It was frequently observed that foreign students retard the educational process and are an annoyance to be minimized.

We tried hard to understand this underlying antipathy of many faculty to foreign students, especially since it seems likely to increase as those with technical-assistance and Peace Corps experience become a smaller part of the total faculty. We concluded that there were three reasons for this antipathy. First, it simply reflects fear of the unknown. Many faculty used terms such as "inscrutable" to describe students from abroad and professed an inability to penetrate a degree of reserve far less common among U.S. students. Second, it seems to reflect the unwillingness of faculty to commit the extra time needed to teach foreign students effectively or even to take seriously their pedagogical problems. Foreign students do demand extra effort at all levels of instruction, from counseling to editing of theses, and at the graduate level they seldom offer the greatest reward of recreating another in one's image. Evidently, most faculty have insufficient professional or intellectual incentives to warrant the exertion of this extra effort. Finally, foreign students for many faculty represent in varying degrees (correctly or incorrectly) academic values that they presumably abhor: passivity in the classroom, unwillingness to accept objective grading, even slowness to laugh at faculty jokes. The attitude of some foreign students towards authority seems to be a special problem. They may be obsequious to faculty on the one hand and dogmatic as teaching assistants on the other. U.S. faculty express irritation at both traits. We heard a wide variety of unflattering analogies used by faculty to describe foreign students ("wet noodles soaking up anything you pour over them," "bazaar merchants haggling over grades," etc.). The evident depth of feeling behind some of these remarks only highlights the need for accurate information about and reasoned attention to the subject from all concerned.

Foreign-born faculty do not seem to have played a major part in policy formation thus far. These foreign-born faculty, we were told, are occasionally a source of some awkwardness and embarrassment when the subject is discussed. In fields such as engineering, this embarrassment will undoubtedly increase.

Students

We did not attempt systematically to solicit views from U.S. students about the presence of foreign students in their midst, but we did hear reports that their views by and large reflected those of the faculty, both positive and negative, the negative views more prevalent where heavy concentrations of foreign students or imbalances among countries of origin are in evidence. Clearly the reactions of U.S. students to foreigners in their midst are likely to be as complex as those of the faculty. For example, we heard on one campus that the U.S. students were more effective critics of any fees, tuition, or graduate-student stipend levels that discriminated against foreign students than foreign students themselves. However, a dean at another institution told of reading out the unmistakably foreign names of seven doctoral candidates to absolute silence at a commencement exercise. When the eighth was evidently a U.S. student, there was a burst of applause.

The local community

The attitudes towards foreign students in towns and cities of which U.S. colleges and universities are a part varied almost as widely as did opinion within those institutions. In the large, cosmopolitan cities, hospitality towards foreigners of all kinds was virtually demanded by a population that had recent immigrant origins itself. In these situations the local communities absorbed the foreign students with relative ease. In small, remote communities, however, by and large the warmth of the reception to foreign students was in inverse ratio to their number: small numbers were welcomed by host families, business councils, churches, unions, and community organizations of various kinds; much larger groups were perceived as dwelling in ghettos, frightening the locals, and overwhelming various community services from schools to police. The critical numbers that transformed foreign students from being a community blessing to a community curse were different in each situation. But it was clear that the effects of large numbers of foreign students on local communities could be very substantial and deserved greater attention on the part of university officials than they receive at present.

Interestingly, in our conversations with and about community leaders we heard little complaint about competition created by foreign graduates for jobs in this country. Local trade unions seemed not to be a force favoring a reduction in numbers. Only professional societies lobbying at the national level appeared concerned about such competition.

On balance, the aphorism "where you stand depends upon where you sit" served as a reasonably apt predictor of attitudes on the foreign-student issue.

III.

Central Policy Questions and Issues

In the course of our discussions, we identified many questions and issues raised repeatedly by faculty, administrators, and staff concerned with foreign students. These questions can usefully be grouped under five major headings: 1) the economic balance sheet; 2) the educational balance sheet; 3) politics and the foreign student; 4) the optimality dilemma; and 5) decision-making processes and institutional response. In many cases it seemed that there was no necessary "right" answer to a particular question or "correct" approach in addressing a specific issue. Indeed, it became clear in our travels that responses were highly context dependent; what was "right" for one campus might be largely irrelevant for another. Therefore, we report here arguments on many sides of an issue. Readers may consequently find only aspects of the following discussion relevant to their own particular circumstances.

1. The Economic Balance Sheet

In these difficult economic times decision makers at public and private institutions of higher learning understandably are especially attentive to the economic implications of every policy that concerns them. In assessing the incentives and disincentives to an institution in admitting foreign students into degree programs, several economic motivations weigh heavily.

The survival of certain fields of study in the United States

Undoubtedly, the most dramatic use of foreign students in the United States in the 1980s is to fill classrooms, mainly at the graduate level, that U.S. students for a variety of reasons have decided not to fill. In part, it is clear that certain fields

have lost favor among U.S. students because of gloomy employment prospects. In other areas, such as engineering and computer science, employment demands at the bachelor's level are so intense that few U.S. students are willing to make the financial sacrifice required for graduate study. In many graduate programs in engineering, for example, from the least to the most prestigious, 70 percent or more of the students come from abroad. In some cases this proportion approaches 100 percent, and only in few cases is it below 40 percent. Several engineering deans suggested that without foreign students they would have had to close down their graduate programs in the short run and their whole operation ultimately.

Defenders of the high proportion of foreign students offer four points. First, the reasons that U.S. students are avoiding certain fields are probably temporary. Foreign students, by keeping the beds warm, permit these programs to survive until they are needed by U.S. students again. And it takes far more time and resources to start a graduate program from scratch than to sustain it through lean years. Indeed, many doubt that programs, once terminated, are likely to be re-instituted, even if demand returns, because of the ever-intensifying competition for resources among existing programs. Second, the research associated with these graduate programs is vital to the national interest and can be carried on only with graduate-student labor. If foreign students were not available, this research would grind to a halt. Third, they argue that the maintenance of active graduate programs is essential to retain those highly qualified faculty who sustain the undergraduate degree programs. Finally, it is claimed that, despite lack of interest among U.S. students, the human output of these graduate programs is still desperately needed in both public and private sectors at home and abroad. If U.S. immigration laws are sufficiently tolerant, U.S. manpower needs in academe and in industry can be met from the best foreign students and the rest can return home, where the demand for their services is virtually unlimited.

Critics of this position make one point overall, which has several implications. They argue that the system of U.S. higher education approximates a free market. Supplies are created in response to demands. Yet nearly all production is subsidized, either by government or by private endowments. Thus it is especially important for demand signals to be transmitted correctly and efficiently. But foreign students distort the system. The shortage of supply of U.S. graduate students in certain fields has not led to an increase in price for their services (as reflected in fellowship awards or stipend levels). Instead, the excess demand is filled from overseas. This failure of signals operates very widely. Only the substantial output of foreign students with doctorates has kept salaries of engineering faculty from rising to levels sufficient to retain a full complement of U.S. citizens in professional positions. Defenders of the part played by foreign students in the engineering field deny that corrective market signals really work in the academic world. The aversion of U.S. students to graduate work in engineering, they assert, has deeper roots in such conditions as the poor quality of secondary-school training in science and mathematics. The critics conclude that the result of recent developments in engineering has been a national scandal: a whole generation of

U.S. students absent from one of the nation's most important professions. And before long engineering education, at the graduate level at least, will consist of foreign faculty teaching foreign students.

In fields that evidently are not so crucial to national well-being as engineering, it is argued by critics that the presence of foreign students may sometimes encourage the perpetuation of a misallocation of academic resources. When the U.S. demand for a field declines, then training for service in that field should also decline, releasing resources for higher priorities. Demand from abroad permits faculty in an area that has lost favor to hang on rather than be forced to shift to a field in greater demand. If these faculty were engaged in a formal economic endeavor, there would be no cause for concern because consumers of the service would ultimately pay their full cost. Where the provision of educational service is subsidized publicly or privately, this failure to respond to shifts in domestic demand distorts the system.

Foreign students as "filler"

Apart from the service that foreign students can perform for a particular field in trouble, they can mitigate enrollment crises wherever they occur, at any level of instruction from the first year of community college to the last of a doctorate. In the public institution the foreign student may contribute to the "body count" that, by formula (i.e., f.t.e.'s), determines subvention from the state. In the private institutions the foreign student can be a financial godsend so long as the marginal revenue (tuition less financial aid, plus payment for dormitories, meals, etc.) exceeds marginal costs. Where a high proportion of costs are fixed in the short or medium term and so long as there is excess capacity, the marginal cost may be very low and those extra students from any source who can pay their way have a high net value.

Officials of one institution of relatively low national prestige admitted that they had used foreign students as "filler" in the growth process of the institution. In the early days of certain graduate and professional programs, they were simply unable to attract the required number of U.S. students essential for faculty growth—and so they had turned overseas. When the programs achieved a reputation, they were able to replace the foreigners with U.S. students.

We encountered few institutions willing to acknowledge that they were turning to foreign students for such crass reasons as "filler," but it seemed clear that many, indeed, were. The main objection we heard to this practice was that students from other countries should not be acquired or discarded depending upon circumstances prevailing in the United States. Surely countercyclical enrollment of students in the United States is unlikely to be the most effective training policy for the countries that require skilled manpower the most.

The export of higher-education services

Although few educators were willing to acknowledge it explicitly, some were prepared to comment vaguely on the education of foreign students as one of the

United States' few (with grain and armaments) remaining export industries on an upward trajectory, and one with few strong competitors. But we found the tradition that education and commerce should not be mixed together, even in conversation, to be a strong one, and it was done only with great care. It may be that the reputation of fly-by-night degree mills has placed a cloud over this whole dimension of the subject. This seemed a shame since it closed off a potentially interesting line of inquiry.

A more positive approach to this point would suggest that the particular character of U.S. society and its heritage permit the country to be an exceedingly efficient producer of higher education to be marketed worldwide. It is striking that nations notoriously critical of the United States, as well as those that are complimentary, send students to colleges and universities here. And they come not just to study agriculture or engineering. They enroll in the liberal arts and the full panoply of what our institutions have to offer. Moreover, as turmoil and authoritarian rule grow in nations from which students come, the attractiveness of the freedom and openness of the U.S. system seems to increase. Indeed, it was pointed out that the United States is and probably will remain a magnet for the foreign student because of the quality and diversity of its institutions, the flexibility of its educational programs, the international prestige of a U.S. degree, and the payoff to the degree recipient in terms of access to new social and professional networks in his home country. The potential payoff for the U.S. supplier from the export of higher education was demonstrated to us forcefully by the growth of private-enterprise higher education aimed at foreign markets. We kept hearing about, although we did not visit, institutions that have arisen mainly in response to the market for training in skills as disparate as amusement-park management and aircraft design. Their continued existence appears to be evidence of their success.

But the perception of higher education as a product to be sold abroad, in natural pursuit of our comparative advantage, raises complex questions of academic policy that some educational leaders prefer not even to discuss. For example, should foreign students not be charged the full cost of their education—or perhaps even what the market will bear? Why should the United States subsidize the export of education any more than of airplanes or soybeans? For state universities this question raises delicate political considerations. There the whole notion of tuition is often anathema, and not having had to face the market, they tended to fear a high price elasticity of demand for their services. For private universities, there was uncertainty about whether the subsidy from private endowments should be spread to foreigners. And for all institutions the possibility of full-cost pricing for foreigners, alone among the student body, raised the spectre of other forms of market differentiation that might then be forced upon them. On balance, with few exceptions the educators we encountered resisted thinking of higher education in such market terms, holding fast to the implicit assumption that to do so was to depart quite significantly from the accepted norms of their profession.

Benefits to the local, state, and national economy

Apart from the possible argument that higher education is a uniquely successful export industry, a variety of other arguments was presented that foreign students contribute significantly to the U.S. economy. The case for economic benefit was based generally on one or more of three claims. First, foreign graduates could help alleviate local and national manpower shortages. Second, foreign graduates of U.S. institutions were more likely to buy U.S. goods when they returned home—from laboratory equipment to earthmovers. We heard much anecdotal evidence to bolster this claim, including an account of one Asian entrepreneur who regularly purchased aircraft engines from a local manufacturer in the Midwest, rather than from foreign producers, because he enjoyed returning regularly to root for his alma mater on the gridiron. Third, foreign students were characterized as generating effective demand for goods and services both in the local community and in the nation. To the extent that their funds came from foreign sources this effect acted like a foreign-trade multiplier. It was presented both in terms of increased sales of used cars and television sets and of apartment rentals, and in terms of jobs for the unemployed.

In our view these economic arguments were often on shaky ground, resting as they must on a range of assumptions about excess capacity, underemployment of resources, and alternative opportunities for economic activity. But conducting our interviews as we did during a time of serious recession, it was not surprising to hear that outside the institutional walls the economic arguments played better than all others and in some cases had been used successfully to overcome the forces of opposition. Still, the opposite perspective was offered by some interviewees. Negative economic impact was cited in the cases for foreign students who joined the local labor force upon graduation, exacerbating the employment problems of the local citizenry; of foreign graduate students who assisted faculty in curing a disease of a crop in their home country that, when subsequently exported to the United States, greatly reduced the market share of the comparable U.S. product; and of the state subsidies for foreign students that, it was argued, should instead be used to support the education of state citizens. The issue of economic protectionism, moreover, was raised in a few instances. Why, it was argued, should the United States open its doors to citizens of other countries who, through a U.S. education, could apply technical or managerial skills in their home countries to product developments that would have a deleterious effect on U.S. industry?

The special costs of foreign students

Various specific institutional costs were identified pertaining to foreign students. These include the special services of a foreign-student adviser and center, immigration experts, and ESL (English as a Second Language) instructors. Moreover, foreign students can generate increases in some university administrative costs, ranging from student affairs through admissions and financial aid, to the bursar, registrar, and library. In addition, loss of alumni contributions was cited

as another cost directly attributable to the size of the foreign-student body. One private institution that is heavily dependent on alumni gifts told us candidly that, despite serious efforts, it had not been able to encourage alumni abroad to make regular donations. To the extent that a proportion of the undergraduate enrollment was foreign, therefore, they had to count upon an equivalent reduction in very crucial alumni support.

Cost-benefit pricing of foreign-student education

We encountered very little enthusiasm for the notion of attempting to derive an estimate of the costs and benefits of foreign-student education, and pricing this service accordingly. There were three major objections. First, the whole question was too complex to submit to quantification and, therefore, it was best to treat foreign students like all other students. Second, differential charges (imposed in several places) resulted in general disgruntlement on everyone's part and to rising demands for additional special services of various kinds. And finally, this seemingly innocuous action would open a Pandora's box, especially in state institutions, where some legislators and others were simply waiting for the opportunity to raise fees for everyone.

We heard two minority viewpoints from deans of major universities. One view held that provision of education to foreign students in the United States was "the last great free lunch" and that it should be placed on a basis of full cost recovery just as soon as possible. The second was that the training of foreign students should never be attempted "on the cheap" as was so often done. One dean argued that incremental costs of an excellent program of special services and facilities should be calculated and charged to all foreign students. His school was in fact doing so. He argued that this practice should be made clear to students before coming, and those who objected could stay home.

The foreign-student cash-flow issue

A final economic-related issue concerns the foreign student's ability to pay. Many U.S. institutions have experienced great difficulty in obtaining the payment of fees from students from particular developing countries. Nigeria is a frequently cited case. It is often unrecognized in the United States that a request for payment must often pass through a lengthy queue in the student's home country—from a staff development officer to a university registrar to a university vice-chancellor to the ministry of education and finally to the central bank. Because of numerous instances of late payment many institutions are now requiring the deposit of \$10,000 or more in advance to be held by the U.S. institution before the student will be permitted to enroll. Moreover, many institutions are indicating preferences in their admission practices for students from wealthy states (e.g., the Persian Gulf oil-producing countries).

2. The Educational Balance Sheet

The educational balance sheet is divided primarily into two categories: arguments on behalf of foreign students as a vehicle for enriching the learning experience and arguments that challenge this assertion or raise other complications that the foreign student introduces into the educational process.

Enriching the classroom—"the humanist presumption"

A high proportion of those with whom we spoke asserted that foreign students by their very presence contributed to the educational process of which they were a part. Relatively few could provide a careful discussion of just how this came about. Some claimed that the world in which U.S. graduates will live is becoming increasingly "small," and it was the responsibility of their teachers to expose them to an international environment as soon as possible. Foreign students did this job. Where a student is the first in a family to go to college, we were told, the foreign student becomes the first real contact with the world. Others argued that foreign students brought distinctive values, perspectives, and bodies of information to U.S. education. This contribution, too, was thought to be most important away from cosmopolitan centers. Still others argued that "language is the bearer of culture" and that a multicultural educational environment is of enormous benefit to both the U.S. and the foreign student. The foreign student was also thought of as part of an international studies package that includes U.S. students studying abroad and contract work being performed by faculty and graduate students in foreign countries. Each activity reinforces the other, producing an enriched learning environment overall.

Negative educational and social attributes

Skeptics of the humanist presumption pointed to several problems. Most frequently cited was that the English language proficiency of many foreign students is inadequate. U.S. students call this "language drag" and in particular complain vigorously of unintelligible foreign-student teaching assistants. Foreign students, because of English language difficulty and cultural difference, also have problems with the case method in business schools and with satisfying teacher certification programs in schools of education. Engineers complained that some foreign students could not treat a complex problem (such as an environmental design) "holistically"; they insisted on disaggregation. The linguistic difficulty reflects the fact that the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) was thought to be a better predictor of poor preparation than of English language proficiency. It was also reported that many foreign students are too reticent to challenge the instructor in the classroom—this can greatly retard the learning process for the U.S. students as well. Socially, it was observed that country cliques sometimes form (e.g., the "Malaysian ghetto"), which can be detrimental to learning and socialization, breeding resentment and social cleavages rather than harmony. Finally, even more foreign than U.S. students today seek "credentialing devoid of content" and destroy the faculty's dream of "education for its own sake."

Brain gain or brain drain?

There were contrasting views about the benefit derived by the country of origin of the foreign student. To the extent that foreign students use their status as a back-door entry to U.S. residency, it is a net loss to the country of origin. Also, some claimed that students from developing countries acquire skills (e.g., the use of high technology) that are simply not applicable in their societies, where the most elementary skills (e.g., road building rather than computer design) are still in greatest demand.

American blacks and foreign students

Some claimed that significant changes have taken place in the relationship between American black students and foreign (especially African) students. In the 1960s, blacks looked to black Africans for role models and welcomed African students. Now, many American blacks find little relevance to their own experience in black Africa, and noticeable frictions have surfaced between black Americans and black Africans that can be a serious impediment to learning.

3. Politics and the Foreign Student

Political considerations relate to the foreign student on three levels: within the university, with respect to the university's image nationally, and in terms of U.S. foreign policy.

Within the university

In the course of our discussions, we were told often that "those who care the most [about the foreign student] influence policy the least." The foreign-student adviser is seen as providing a "service" and, we were told, in academe today there is minimal interaction between those in service and those in academic roles. The foreign-student adviser has special insight into the relative importance of psychological, cultural, and academic pressures on the student. Yet the foreign-student adviser and associated personnel feel themselves outside the power structure of the institution, with little or no influence on policy issues that they claim to know and care a great deal about, and powerless to correct the problems they observe clearly.

Institutional image

Many of the institutions were, quite properly, deeply concerned about how others saw them. Foreign students were thought to be one component of the image. With too few foreign students an institution was perceived as provincial and not competing in a worldwide marketplace of ideas. But just as with the "humanist presumption," it was suggested that there could be too much of a good thing. If there were too many foreign students, the institution was perceived as probably out of fashion at home and suffering from declining domestic applicant pools. No U.S. student wishes to consign himself to a loser. There seemed to be in the

back of the minds of many an implicit desire to find the right mixture of U.S. and foreign students that would best serve the image of the institution.

In pursuit of foreign-policy goals

A wide range of persons argued that U.S. colleges and universities had a responsibility to welcome foreign students because of the contribution their presence could make to the attainment of foreign-policy goals. There seemed to be three contributions. First, the presence of students from other countries in U.S. communities and educational institutions made U.S. citizens more tolerant, compassionate, and sophisticated in their relations with other nations. Second, human capital in the form of trained manpower was made available to the developing countries. Third, with their experience as students in the United States warm in their memories, future leaders of the world would be conditioned to love and respect their former hosts and to acquire firsthand a taste of the fruits of U.S. democracy. We heard as many anecdotes to illustrate this point as any other: we were told of cabinet ministers, presidents, and ambassadors who retained loyalty to their alma mater and its *patria*. We saw no evidence that anyone had tested these assertions; that, stated differently, might be made to reach exactly opposite conclusions.

On the skeptical side, reference was made to questions of national security. A few argued that it was foolish to train foreign nationals in military-related technologies that could some day be used against the United States. But most seemed to feel that openness was the great strength of U.S. higher education and that this should be preserved.

4. The Optimality Dilemma

We asked almost everyone with whom we spoke if they conceived of optimum numbers of foreign students in their institutions by country, by field, or for their entire institution overall. Most thought there probably were such optima but they did not know how to determine what they might be. The variables seemed to be too many and too complex to arrive at a precise answer. The problem is compounded because the relationships between most of these variables and student numbers are nonlinear. Some of the benefits decline rather rapidly at the margin (e.g., the cosmopolitan contribution, improvement in community approval, image, etc.), in some cases reaching negative values, while some of the marginal costs also decline through economies of scale (e.g., provision of special services). In each case these functional relationships were peculiar to the local situation, and few universal generalizations are possible. For example, in small rural communities the cosmopolitan benefits were perceived to decline rapidly beyond a certain point and the costs in poor community relations to rise very quickly. In such communities foreign students were said to keep to themselves when their numbers reached a certain threshold, thus reducing their impact on U.S. colleagues and antagonizing local citizens. In large urban areas, in contrast, neither

of these factors seemed significant at all; cosmopolitanism was already overwhelming and foreign students could hardly be discerned among the other innumerable foreigners already in the environment. We were struck by the paradox that the same marginal foreign student, who in a large research university or high-quality liberal arts college was seen as a threat to the institution's academic integrity, might be perceived by a community college as a means to raise quality.

When pressed either by us or by circumstances to make an estimate either of optimum foreign-student numbers or the foreign-student tipping point beyond which marginal costs exceeded marginal benefits, the large majority of our respondents emphasized above all the importance of "balance" among nationalities in the foreign-student mix. Several individuals ventured that no more than 20 percent of a foreign-student body should come from one nation. Estimates of optimal foreign-student totals ranged from three to five percent in small, rural liberal arts colleges to 30 percent in graduate engineering departments. One dean called 35 percent a "respectable blend." A faculty member in a university where the foreign students came mainly from one region observed that "at 75 percent the whole class speaks Spanish." A few insisted that any attention to nationality in higher education was unethical and refused to answer the question. But most agreed that student bodies with more than 50 percent foreigners were undesirable and "warped," while those with 70 percent or more were in crisis.

We observed that the mere attempt to come to grips with the question of optima was a valuable exercise on most campuses. It seemed perfectly reasonable that this process might be more visceral than cerebral: for example, one dean told us that in his school "30 percent felt good while 40 percent was uncomfortable." The inquiry might not yield definitive answers, but it did force people back to the issues from which the question arose.

5. The Decision-Making Process and Institutional Response

One of the principal assumptions underlying this study was that there was no national policy concerning foreign students. Rather, the aggregate condition reflected thousands of decisions made by many individuals in colleges and universities across the country. In fact, we found the actual scene marked more by an absence of decision than by any distinctive pattern of decision making within or across institutions. In the course of our interviews we were told that the number of foreign students found on a particular college campus was the consequence of "cumulative incrementalism," "ad hocism," "designed ambiguity," "the virtues of nonpolicy," the philosophy that "long-range planning is where you are now," the judgment that "our greatest reason for our present condition is independent of reason," a process that is "just sort of going on," "no policy, no direction, no administration, no staff," or being caught "with our policy pants down."

Nonetheless, it was widely held that much more careful attention in strategic planning should be devoted to formulating an institutional response to the foreign demand for U.S. higher education.

Part of the difficulty in formulating an effective response seems to be that many U.S. educational institutions cherish a conception of a relationship between themselves and potential students as simple, based on complete knowledge, and dignified in all its aspects. Interestingly, we sensed a double standard on this point between U.S. and foreign students. Although the practice of recruiting aggressively for U.S. high school graduates of high quality or with special skills (especially athletic ones) is unquestioned, there is a prevailing sense that such activity is unseemly if not downright immoral when carried on overseas. Moreover, while admissions officers and high administrators everywhere have pored over historical data and demand projections for higher education from various segments of the U.S. population, very few have reviewed the evidence for segments of demand beyond their shores. Various people made a case for several new approaches from their own institutions.

Demand projections

We detected a prevailing sense among some college and university administrators, based on remarkably little evidence, that overseas the price elasticity of demand for U.S. higher education is considerable. This gloomy view, when applied to conditions of rising prices, stands in sharp contrast to their generally high self-confidence. Institutions ranging from community colleges to major universities all reported the conviction that if prices were increased they would lose their customers. The consequences of changes in British policy present some basis for their fears. Yet it is certainly important to obtain much better information on this point by field, by type of U.S. institution, and by country of origin. It would be helpful to know the effect upon demand elasticities of improved knowledge about the product among the potential customers abroad and to know something about cross elasticities (the effect on U.S. demand of changing prices for higher education in other countries) and the income elasticity of demand for U.S. higher education (the effect on demand for U.S. higher education of changing incomes abroad), especially in regions such as the advanced developing and OPEC countries where income has been rising rapidly.

Recruiting

People in almost all institutions we visited recoiled at the notion of sending personnel abroad and energetically seeking foreign students. This revulsion may grow out of the reported misbehavior of certain fee-charging placement firms ("head-hunters"), or it may reflect merely the entrenched mythology of this field, which says among other things that such recruiting will not work. One observer suggested that the critics of recruiting appealed to the "free market and the invisible hand as a crutch or a cop-out."

There were three types of exceptions to the rejection of recruiting. First, several senior university and college administrators solicit package arrangements with foreign governments for substantial numbers of students. Second, many colleges and universities send a recruiter to Europe to contact U.S. expatriates, especially

those at military installations. In passing, these people pick up a few bona fide foreigners. Also, several smaller institutions we visited take part in modest cooperative recruiting schemes in Europe.

Third, and of greatest interest, was a particular exception: one major private university has set out systematically to recruit abroad, using many of the techniques employed at home plus others. This institution sends recruiters to 21 countries (at a reported cost in 1981 of \$20,000) to contact potential applicants at all levels of education. They reported that in visits to schools and homes and through other contacts they are able to present a fair representation of their campus offerings and to overcome in some degree the traditional narrow preference of foreign students for technical fields and business administration, which they suggest is based partly on ignorance. This institution believes that by bringing itself to potential clients, it is able to increase the quality and strength of demand.

In general, we were left with the sense that the subject of recruiting merits far more study and experimental endeavor.

Special courses and programs

It has long been a cliché in most respectable colleges and universities that special courses and programs should not be designed and offered to particular groups or categories of student. Knowledge is composed of absolutes, the argument runs, and anything marked "special" is liable, in reality, to be merely less rigorous and academically inferior. Special programs conjure up visions of the trade school, or worse still, the substandard so-called "Asian Ph.D." supposedly offered to foreign students in prewar years in the firm expectation that they would leave the country. The Darwinian notion of beneficial struggle has an honored place in academe, and any device that seems to protect the weak implies degradation of standards and is abhorrent.

In contrast, we heard of numerous special programs that met the needs of foreign students precisely while minimizing the demands on their time and on institutional resources. To a substantial degree these programs still brought the advantages to the institution of revenue, enrichment of U.S. students, and service to the developing world. The programs went from sophisticated English as a Second Language (ESL) courses at one end of the spectrum, through classes on comparative taxation, to master's degrees in comparative law and international business at the other, which, it was understood, would be sought almost entirely by foreigners. These last, we were told, proved to be valuable to the local business community because they provided an immediate source of consultants and a long-run source of contacts for international business expansion. A particular type of special program for foreign students, about which we heard enthusiastic comments, was designed to equip foreign medical graduates to qualify for hospital residencies in the United States. Most of the graduates of this program return home after the residency, but some remain, especially those who are granted refugee status.

It seemed to us that the question of special programs for foreign students de-

served careful examination. The opportunity for abuse certainly exists, but so does the possibility of developing an activity of considerable mutual benefit. A lament we heard at several schools of agriculture was that the training provided for foreign students, especially at the doctoral level, often seemed singularly inappropriate. Ph.D. graduates were equipped for careers of sophisticated research and teaching, yet when they returned home they were expected in the main to perform administrative chores or provide extension services. Some wondered wistfully why, after so many years of experience, we could not provide an education that was less expensive and more useful for these persons. This is a question that should, perhaps, be asked in more fields than agriculture.

Institutional restraint

We encountered numerous suggestions that U.S. higher education had lost its capacity to react responsibly and, if necessary, negatively to the demand from foreign students. This situation was thought to be most iniquitous when, as seems sometimes to be the case, the students sought not education but a means to obtain immigration status. In a sense, the dependence of private institutions upon the revenue derived from these students and the f.t.e.'s acquired by public institutions stood in the way of restraint based on other considerations. More serious, in some cases, are the effects of open admission on the whole system of higher education. We were told of several cases in which independent profit-making language-training institutes recruited actively for students abroad without regard for criteria of any kind except the capacity to pay the fees. After completing a course as brief as several weeks, these students were able to gain entrance to a lower-division institution, then on into an upper-division university, and into even graduate or professional schools, all on an easy ladder of advancement constructed for U.S. citizens. In effect, the crucial admission decision in these cases was made for U.S. higher education by an organization that was, at best, on the periphery of it.

Cooperative services

Many institutions that have only just begun to think seriously about foreign students have concluded that if they are to continue, the future must hold more interinstitutional cooperation. Not only will the information and other services provided by IIE, the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs (NAFSA), and other comparable organizations continue to remain crucial to them, but more cooperative recruitment, English language and remedial training, and other such activities must be undertaken. An analogy was drawn for us with the revolution in style that has occurred in many U.S. banks and other financial institutions. Instead of making loans merely to the farmer or local businessman down the block, they have come to see the world as their borrower and have had to learn about the behavior of the peso, peanut failures in Senegal, and the political situation in New Delhi. They have become practitioners of what is termed "country risk analysis" and they have devised means to minimize their most exposed positions. The problems facing U.S. colleges and universities are thought to be

comparable. They have to ask what likelihood there is of a revolution in a country from which they have accepted several hundred students, what devices are effective when a particular nation stops paying its bills, or what peculiarities in credentials are showing up in applicants from one country. To some extent, these questions are being attacked collectively already, but judging from the plaintive cries we heard, more will be approached this way in the future, especially if the numbers of foreign students continue to grow.

Leadership

Leadership, of course, has a particular role to play. It was our strong sense that leaders of institutions could effectively stifle the internationalization of their campuses if they took a firm negative stance. But the reverse is not necessarily the case. A number of internationally minded, experienced senior administrators had sought to increase the foreign-student presence on their campuses, but to little avail. We feel here that two measures might be in order. A white paper, for internal consumption only, could be usefully developed and circulated that spells out the goals and missions of the institution and the role of international programs and foreign students in meeting these goals (see also below, section IV). Moreover, an implementation strategy has to be articulated that reflects a realistic meshing of the stated goals, the resources of the institution, and the opportunities and constraints presented by the external political and economic environment.

IV. A Strategy of Institutional Inquiry

To look or not to look?

Opinion was very much divided over how, and even whether, a college or university should address the questions set forth in section III. Against any attention to the subject whatsoever were two arguments. First, that in this realm, intuition and instinct serve better than cold-eyed analysis. Indeed it was suggested to us that "rigorous thinking, and anything approaching quantification, may actually mislead rather than guide policymakers by oversimplifying issues that are inevitably complex." The right people know what to do, this argument goes, and you only confuse them if you ask why. As one person said, there are distinct virtues in nonpolicy. Second, some argued that the external constituencies of a college or university could seldom understand the subtle matters at issue here. One administrator explained that in recognition of this fact, his institution's policy was to "divert, distract, and submerge." Many with whom we talked believed that despite pious statements to the contrary, xenophobia always lurks just beneath the surface in the U.S. mind and no excuse should be provided for it to burst forth. Unscrupulous legislators, in particular, can always arouse some voters with cries to "throw the foreigners out." Even legislators with the best will, it was claimed, were conditioned not to understand the issues. For example, they were likely to think of higher education as a relatively simple and homogeneous service to be provided their constituents, like health care or good roads. Provision of this service to foreigners seemed simply wrong and necessarily at the expense of domestic consumers. That these same foreigners might actually give (by contributing to the educational process of their fellows) while receiving was a notion that was just too difficult to grasp. A concept like marginal-cost pricing, under which increments of higher education sold out of state might actually yield

more benefits than costs, was incomprehensible to legislators who, we were told, think of every "extra" unit of activity as having in all cases a net cost. It was thought best to lie low and if questions arose about foreign students to answer them in a soft-spoken way, perhaps even a little off the subject. One state university leader told us that on this set of questions his own strategy was to keep a very low profile—in fact, he said, "any profile at all is bad."

After listening to the various arguments presented for inattention to this subject, we concluded that in most cases the real reason was that policymakers in these institutions, consciously or not, had decided that the subject was insufficiently urgent to warrant their attention in the face of other seemingly more critical issues, including in some cases the stark problem of institutional survival.

On the other side of the argument, three points were made. The first concerned the question of educating the constituencies upon which higher education depends. A number of sophisticated old hands argued, persuasively to us, that these groups could indeed understand costs and benefits perfectly well and were in fact anxious to do so. The greatest danger came in denying them a full explanation and in leaving the subject to arise suddenly, without warning, and without background for intelligent decision. Up to now the external constituencies, when aroused, have limited themselves mainly to rather hesitant questions instead of vigorous action. One person close to the political process feared that this gentle attitude might not last much longer and the foreign student might become at the state level the rallying cry of outrage that "foreign aid" has become in national politics. The costs of punitive action may be very great. One of the large state universities we visited estimated that full-cost pricing under discussion in the legislature of that state would practically eliminate foreign students and would cost that institution approximately \$3.5 million in lost revenue. State legislatures and boards of regents are, of course, most likely to be the potent external force in changing policies towards foreign students in public higher education. They may demand a reversal of institutional policy without a moment's delay and certainly without time for careful self-study or additional opportunities for reasoned counterarguments. In the private sector it may be trustees, alumni, a new president, a local community, or the applicant pool of U.S. students that will impel such change. A sophisticated program of education and involvement of all those constituencies with a potential interest in the subject may be required if higher education is to become secure in its position.

The second argument for careful inquiry suggested that institutions today must develop a set of policies for a range of circumstances that have undergone substantial change in recent years and now give evidence of changing even more in the years ahead. One especially harried administrator told us that she was "scared to death" by the pace of change, but because she could see neither where her institution was going nor where it should be going, she felt powerless to intervene in the process. She was almost desperate for inquiry both within her own institution and at a national level.

We were fully persuaded by the overall argument that inquiry into foreign-stu-

dent policy was needed as much for internal as for external education. We found ignorance and myth abounding. To give just one small example, it was widely assumed in small liberal arts colleges that all foreign students required full financial aid from the college. Serious misinformation also persisted on public campuses. In one state where the legislature was merely bemused by foreign students and the universities had made few efforts to enlighten it, a simple question to universities from a legislative committee, asking for an explanation of why foreign enrollment in some programs exceeded 25 percent, was widely believed for years thereafter to signal that one-quarter had become an authorized maximum. In fact, the doctrine lingered in one university long after the committee had forgotten the question had even been asked. At another institution where numbers of foreign students had changed suddenly, we were told several times that policy had been altered at the highest level to bring this about. Yet, after diligent search we became convinced that there was no policy at the highest levels. Like Topsy, the numbers had "just grown."

Our observation from visits to more than 20 colleges and universities is that few have in fact thought through coherently and systematically this set of questions with the objective of taking the best advantage of opportunities open to them. In several cases persons in different parts of an institution (a dean, department chairman, or foreign-student adviser) believed that someone in another part had indeed thought seriously in broad terms about institutional policy on the subject. However, we could seldom find one who had. The potential costs of inattention are, we think, considerable. For example, if indeed there are optimal numbers of foreign students in an institution, appropriate to the goals and constraints of that institution in total by field or by country of origin, it is damaging or wasteful to diverge from these numbers. If foreign students are too few, the institution may lose significant advantages. One administrator of a private university with substantial excess capacity pointed out that at current levels of tuition, fees, and campus living costs, the incremental revenue for his institution from merely 100 foreign undergraduates over four years was about \$5 million. For any institution with few marginal costs and little capital upon which to fall back in emergencies, even this relatively small increase in enrollment could mean the difference between survival and bankruptcy. If there are too many foreign students, on the other hand, the institution could face problems that sometimes rise very quickly to crisis proportions. Often these are problems not easily understood without careful study, but nonetheless tractable. If an institution is not alert to its own situation, change can occur without anyone consciously understanding what has happened or attempting to intervene. And if an institution wishes to control its fate, it must do so quickly and effectively as conditions change.

The third argument for careful inquiry into foreign-student issues on a campus is that in addition to alteration in conditions on campus, the institution is exceptionally vulnerable to events beyond its gates. It may need to resist proposed changes in legislation at the state or federal level, or it may have to decide how to respond when a foreign government proposes "a deal."

External forces, like internal ones, may suddenly press an institution to take action or change direction. If it is not fully prepared for this intervention, with its mind made up on what is best in certain circumstances, it may be too late either to resist or to go forward.

A point made to us repeatedly was that the question of whether and how to plan and formulate policy in the foreign-student area was inextricably embedded in a larger set of questions about university behavior overall. One person remarked that in U.S. colleges and universities since World War II, everything has been "demand driven," and it is now in the nature of these institutions to respond only to a demand crisis. In higher education as in the rest of the U.S. economy, supply-side responses were unimpressive overall. For U.S. institutions to perform better on issues concerning foreign students would require fundamental reform. The innate conservatism of higher education compounds the problem. The very concept of a coherent strategy towards foreign students flies in the face of the relative autonomy of departments and schools that has been institutionalized in recent years. One rather cynical observer of the national scene suggested that typically it would require foreign-student enrollments of 30 to 40 percent in a department, faculty, or school, or 10 to 15 percent in an institution overall, before serious inquiry is undertaken. Our observations supported this view. For example, one major private university had seen its foreign enrollments rise quite dramatically over four years without anyone at a senior level either noticing or caring. We sensed that the "care threshold" might be close in this case but it had not yet been crossed. Unfortunately, by the time such rapid growth has occurred, many opportunities have been lost and problems have been allowed to grow that might have been nipped in the bud. One astute observer suggested to us that an institution in a steady state is least likely to have an interest in foreign students. Attention to students from overseas seems to be associated especially with growth or decline.

Perhaps it was only because we were deeply immersed in this subject for several months that we came to the conclusion that, for almost every institution we visited, serious inquiry into issues related to foreign students was long overdue. Without doubt the particular form and direction of the investigations should vary with the special needs and circumstances of each institution. Moreover, we accept the caution of several experienced presidents who believe that while all aspects of the question deserve scrutiny, some more than others are appropriate for wide public debate. The urgency as well as the need for inquiry also will vary among institutions. Yet we recall the speculation of one commentator that the 1980s would be a unique decade of complementarity between the United States and the rest of the world in higher education. Excess capacity in this country now is matched by burgeoning demand abroad. By the end of the decade both sides will have adjusted their conditions so that this complementarity will disappear. For those institutions that have not reflected on this circumstance it should be noted that the decade is almost one-third over.

Implications for institutional organization

It is worth reemphasizing once again our conviction that it is impossible to prescribe particular forms of reorganization across the breadth of U.S. higher education in response to problems and opportunities presented by foreign students. In our view each institution should look to itself and devise the structures that seem best calculated to yield the desired results. In this section we will outline some of the organizational issues that need to be addressed, and we will mention some of the varied approaches taken at the institutions we visited.

Typically in the institutions we visited responsibility for attending to the range of questions addressed above was either widely distributed in the administrative hierarchy or not allocated anywhere at all. This had some advantages in generating shared concerns but, on balance, more disadvantages by creating administrative and policy paralysis. There are several alternative places in an administration where more centralized authority may be placed. From our observations, the responsible official should normally not be the director of international studies. Such a person, ironically but understandably, is concerned principally with U.S. students engaged in the study of other countries, rather than with foreign students in the United States. If a campus has a critical mass of international activities—assistance programs overseas, study abroad, foreign students, and international studies—a person placed in charge of all these together may be in an ideal situation to devise policy and to alert the institution to challenges ahead. If international activities are more modest, a natural candidate for the task is the foreign-student adviser or the director of the foreign-student office. It may be objected that the foreign-student adviser, seeking personal aggrandizement, will merely press for growth in foreign enrollments and conceal the related problems. That, however, was not our perception of the situation at the institutions we visited. Most of the foreign-student advisers were deeply sensitive to the issues addressed here and opposed growth in numbers if the facilities were not adequate or if growth would be at the expense of quality in education or other institutional values. If foreign-student advisers had to attend to important issues of policy, the status of their position might be correspondingly enhanced—this would be an appropriate move when foreign students are becoming an important resource if not part of the very lifeblood of an institution.

Whoever the responsible officer for foreign-student issues may or should be on any campus or in any system, there are certain functions that should be performed. Above all is the need to provide for reasoned and coherent practices. One community college we visited reported that one of its campuses had forsworn foreign students altogether, while another campus was actually recruiting overseas. In neither case did the practice seem to have a discernible rationale. One task of a responsible official in central administration should be to make sure that such practices are fully thought through and, where desirable, made consistent. At a few campuses where foreign-student enrollments have increased rapidly, individual schools and faculties have named special assistant deans to attend to the issues. More and more institutions have special persons or units in offices of ad-

mission, financial aid, housing, the bursar, and the registrar to cope with the complexities of the situation. Others such as alumni affairs will, we think, soon follow suit. Each institution must determine whether its own scale and requirements make such specialization practical and desirable.

A frequent dichotomy we encountered on campuses was between recruitment and curriculum development on the one hand and foreign-student policy on the other. Increasingly these areas are becoming very closely intertwined, and it is crucial that the interrelationships be remembered and that actions be coordinated. For example, it is clear that not all faculty either wish to, or can effectively, teach foreign students. Therefore, if foreign-student numbers are to be increased substantially, new faculty with the desire and the ability should be given priority, and preparations should be made for retraining or encouraging older faculty who do not have necessary skills.

A maxim shared by many faculty is that no adjustments should be made whatever in the traditional "American" curriculum in response to the presence of foreigners. Such changes would prostitute the essential goals of higher education, the argument runs. It was evident quickly to us that constancy of the curriculum neither could nor should necessarily be maintained. At the most obvious level, significant numbers of foreign students require special language training—either standard ESL or some more sophisticated device for improving communication skills. In addition, even the most skeptical of institutions have come to agree that special advisory and counseling services on matters as diverse as visas and culture shock are virtually essential. It is noteworthy that average costs of many foreign-student services are claimed to be not linear but to decline for a time with economies of scale. This claim should be examined. But in addition to these relatively prosaic services, we discovered that with substantial numbers of foreign students, colleges and universities must face a new set of curricular demands as well. Not only do foreign students often exhibit a different set of curricular preferences from U.S. students, but in sufficient numbers from a particular country or region, they may insist on special courses on their own language, history, and culture. These new demands may or may not be desirable in all respects, but they should be understood and anticipated by the college or university administration.

Perhaps as important as any other administrative objective should be the creation of conditions under which an institution can be "master in its own house." We were struck by the number of places we visited where senior administrators complained that in the admission and treatment of foreign students they were at the mercy of internal and external forces seemingly beyond their control. Most notorious among external forces was the principle of open admissions, which tended to guarantee any student, domestic or foreign, passage up the academic ladder once he reached the first rung. Foreign students who made it into a community college, therefore, might cause a crisis in a more advanced institution. Nearly as serious were the various formulas by which much of public education is financed and that, it seemed to us, often emit signals and create incentives that fly in the face of educational objectives. According to these formulas, dollars are

delivered depending upon place of residence, level of study, and other criteria. But in no cases that we could discover do the formulas come fairly to grips with the phenomenon of the foreign student.

Internal forces, often just as strong as the external ones, operate at times to rob the leaders of institutions of the power to act independently. Most serious is the department or school that slips into a position of dependency upon foreign students without anyone knowing or counting the cost. Individual faculty members also can act very capriciously with similar result, we were told, sometimes, for example, developing a liaison with a particular country or set of countries that yield costs to the institution and the community evidently in excess of the benefits to them. We do not presume to pass judgment on particular situations. We do, however, feel certain that decisions involving the flow of foreign students should take all of the relevant circumstances into account.

The case for self-study

Even though, as it was often pointed out to us, there is much that the leaders of U.S. higher education can do in addressing the general organizational issues related to foreign students, we observed also that there is much to be gained from an institution-specific form of inquiry. Indeed, several of the institutions that we visited had already completed or were then contemplating a self-study. It may be helpful to suggest, based on these models, a form of comprehensive inquiry that would be useful for almost any institution in the United States today to undertake. The scope of a committee conducting such a study grows out of the discussion above and therefore is a summary of these earlier observations.

First of all, a self-study committee should review the goals of the institution, which may include the molding of lively and flexible minds through the liberal arts, the training of skilled manpower, the conduct of frontier research, citizen education, and the attraction and support of local industry, or a combination of these and others. Then, the relationship between the presence of foreign students and the attainment of these goals should be probed through an examination of the educational and economic balance sheets discussed above (section III, 1 and 2), and any other relevant factors. The "political" considerations we have reviewed may or may not have a bearing on educational issues in any given institution. Much of the work in a self-study will require disaggregation of the parts of a campus—for example, distinguishing between engineering, where foreign students may be crucial for the conduct of research, and the undergraduate college, where they may stimulate and enlighten their U.S. colleagues. But all should be viewed in the context of wider institutional values and constraints. As part of its wider investigation a self-study should attempt to gather data upon which reasoned choices can be based, in particular evidence concerning marginal and average costs and the "humanist presumption" of the educational value of a multinational student body.

From the general, a self-study should move to the specific. The organizational issues mentioned above may deserve scrutiny. Issues and questions will vary in

urgency among institutions, but we suggest that at this time the following problems should probably be addressed everywhere, including in each case the possibilities for new initiatives:

Pricing. Should differential tuition or special fees be charged foreign students?

Numbers. Can optimal foreign-student enrollments be determined for the institution as a whole or for parts of it?

Quotas. Should limits be placed upon students from particular countries and regions or on those entering certain fields?

Recruitment. Should the institution set out actively to enlarge or alter the composition of its applicant pool? For example, one possibility suggested to us was the attraction of short-term, upper-division, transfer students from abroad.

The disposition of a self-study document will be determined by the style and mode of operation of each campus. Because its two objectives should be to arrive at appropriate policy and to sensitize the university community to complex issues, wide dissemination and discussion of the document should be arranged. Through such a "group grope," as one person termed it, the "absence of decision" that we found widely prevalent may be corrected.

V. Issues for National Attention

Although the major thrust of this inquiry has been to identify both the salient policy issues facing individual college and university officials concerning foreign students and the means by which these issues are addressed, it is apparent that certain questions require illumination from a national perspective. Collective action rather than competitive reactions may in some cases be most appropriate for institutions of higher learning. Those issues that especially call for national attention may be grouped under three headings: economic, socio-organizational, and educational.

Economic

A principal finding of this study is that educators have a very imperfect notion of the marginal costs to their institutions of the foreign student. To ascertain the precise impact in economic terms of a foreign student on a U.S. campus requires a complex calculation that is highly dependent on assumptions and data concerning uses of facilities, manpower allocation, questions of excess capacity, the interaction of the foreign student with the nonuniversity community, and the like. A comprehensive effort to develop a methodology for calculating such costs should be undertaken. The development of a methodology would serve at least three purposes. First, it would enable individual institutions to determine for themselves the economic impact of the foreign student. Those deeply familiar with the idiosyncracies of their own institutions would be in a position to make the most sensible assumptions and to define the constraints that match their peculiar circumstances in applying the methodology. Yet the application of a standardized methodology would permit generalizations that are nationally valid. Second, officials at public institutions armed with these data could make more effective

cases to state legislators about the true effect of the foreign student on the state university system and on the state economy more generally. If presented in an intelligible fashion—an essential ingredient that in turn requires the standardized methodology to be readily comprehensible to the noneconomist—the foreign-student issue could turn out to be a source of political support, not friction, within legislative bodies. Third, the generation of standardized cost data would be the first step in determining whether full-cost pricing of foreign students would be even remotely feasible. Because of the deeply held concerns about elasticity of demand, no steps towards alternative pricing policies are likely to be undertaken without leadership at the national level. A common data base would be a prerequisite for the building of such leadership.

A related matter in the economic sphere worthy of separate attention at the national level is the ascertaining of the occupation and place of residence upon graduation of the foreign student. Many judgments about the economic attractiveness or undesirability of the foreign student rest on untested assertions about the destination of the foreign-student graduate. While admittedly a formidable task, the collection of such data would provide a much more accurate profile than presently exists of the whereabouts and therefore the point of economic impact of the foreign student upon graduation. From an examination of countries of origin and fields of concentration, informative patterns could emerge about who produces what impact where.

Of potentially great significance to the major research university is the growth of political pressures to limit or restrict foreign-student enrollment on the grounds of either national security or economic protectionism. The problem is a complex one and not susceptible to simple characterizations. The Reagan administration, for example, is itself split on these matters. (One graduate dean reported that the Department of State had urged his university to accommodate students from the People's Republic of China, whereas the Department of Defense was strongly opposed, although no classified research is conducted on campus.) Where precisely are the sources of these pressures? (It is interesting to note as an example that there is before the current membership of the Institute of Electrical and Electronic Engineers (IEEE), one of the largest and most prestigious professional engineering societies in the world, a constitutional amendment that would specify that the scope of the IEEE is *national* rather than *transnational* as it is presently defined and that *all* its operations and meetings be conducted in the *United States* rather than throughout the world, as at present.) At whom are these pressures directed? What are the merits of the arguments? Answers in depth to these questions could perhaps forestall the passage of legislation affecting adversely the U.S. university as an "open" institution seeking the generation of knowledge.

Socio-organizational

In the course of this study we encountered a number of issues concerning the social interaction of foreign students and their U.S. educational home that require further probing. Some are at the macro level, involving quite fundamental

questions of a national character; others are at the micro level, quite institution-specific.

At the macro level is first the deeply held assumption that social and intellectual interaction between the foreign and the U.S. student is an enriching experience for both parties. What evidence can be mustered to support this judgment? Where, under what conditions, and with what numbers of foreign students is it a valid or an erroneous assumption? A carefully designed set of comparative case studies would be a major contribution to the identification of conditions that breed social cleavages involving the foreign student.

A second issue at the macro level relates to the projected growth in the foreign-student population in the United States. If, as the Berendzen report suggests, the number of foreign students in the United States could climb from 325,000 to one million by the end of this century, where will they go? (Even if this projection is open to challenge, the same question applies to, say, 750,000 students.) Which institutions or types of institution are geared up to accept them? What does "geared up" really mean in operational terms? And what sort of meshing will there be between the tastes of the demander (foreign student) and the capacities of the supplier (institution)? The absorption of three times the present number of foreign students into U.S. higher education within 15 years is not likely to be painless. Where will the sources of friction be? Can they be in any way avoided? Indeed, can or should a national body take on the role of systematically steering foreign students towards some institutions and away from others? A clearer sense of the relationship between the projected demand and the availability and type of supply is in order.

On a far more specific and operational level, important questions of infrastructure need to be addressed in greater detail. There are four points here. First, while some institutions have a superb command of the human and organization requirements essential to serve the needs of the foreign student, they are in a clear minority. Because of the relatively uninfluential position held by foreign-student advisers within the power structure of most institutions, what is perceived by the adviser as needed and what is in fact provided by the institution rarely coincide. What criteria can be applied to determine the type and quality of services essential for the needs of the foreign student? Indeed, what is "essential" and what is "gravy"?

Second, a related point that could stand some systematic thought is the composition of an orientation packet for the foreign student. In our interviews we were struck by the marked heterogeneity in the quality and quantity of materials prepared by institutions for newly arrived students from abroad. An evaluation of these materials together with a needs assessment from the students' perspective could provide the basis for a set of guidelines for orientation packets that would meet a minimally acceptable national standard.

Third, a highly underresearched subtopic is the issue of faculty-recruitment policies consistent with the growth of foreign-student enrollments. Very few institutions linked in any way their faculty-recruitment policies with the pedagogical

cal requirements associated with the instruction of the foreign student. Are these requirements (e.g., sensitivity to foreign cultures, willingness to tailor the pace and language of instruction to meet specialized foreign-student needs) important? Under what circumstances, if any, should they bear on faculty-recruitment decisions? It would seem that a whole range of foreign-student and faculty-recruitment issues could be usefully explored to strengthen the basis for policymaking.

Finally, one aspect requiring specific attention is the relationship between the college or university and the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). The formalities and complexities associated with the processing of visas and visa-related information, though perhaps mundane, are nonetheless crucial considerations that directly affect the students' ability to fulfill their educational objectives. We were told, however, of extraordinary difficulties in relations between universities and the INS: of forms misplaced, of telephone calls unanswered, of significant inaccuracies and delays in the processing of essential information. An accumulation of small procedural and organizational impediments can produce an impenetrable obstacle. What indeed are the bureaucratic shortcomings on both sides of this relationship? How significantly do they hamper the foreign student's ability to adjust to U.S. collegiate life? What steps could be taken to ameliorate the problems? These questions of detail could be most effectively addressed by an examination from the national perspective.

Educational

Four issues were most frequently raised that bear directly on the educational process and that could benefit from attention at the national level. The first deals with the question of the quality of education and the foreign student and on the relationship between his level of preparation and the academic standards of the institution. At some prestigious institutions known for the quality of their instruction and research it was claimed that the foreign students are consistently among the best on campus. In one highly ranked engineering department, for example, that has large numbers of outstanding U.S. and foreign graduate students, the foreign graduate student has for the last several years dominated the top ranks in performance on Ph.D. oral examinations and in writing doctoral dissertations. At the other end of the spectrum, we were exposed to complaints from numerous faculty at many institutions who argued that on balance their foreign students are less well prepared academically, on a lower intellectual plane, and less well motivated than their U.S. counterparts. They argued with a great deal of passion that the net effect of enrolling large numbers of foreign students into academic institutions of the "middle rank and below" is to draw down the overall quality of instruction and scholarly performance. It may well be, and indeed it is almost certain, that foreign students are both academic leaders and academic trailers. But how do these patterns come about and how might understanding of their sources inform policymaking on the admission of foreign students? If, for instance, at the best institutions foreign students do better relative to the U.S. students and at the weakest institutions, or at institutions with "open" admissions,

foreign students consistently bring up the bottom of the class, what processes of selection and self-selection are at work? It strikes us that there are two parallel developments taking place on U.S. campuses: a continuous striving to improve the quality of academic programs and a growing foreign-student enrollment. Under what conditions are these developments mutually reinforcing, and when do they serve to undercut each other? What is the rather variegated and complex interaction between the two? The answers to these questions are likely to influence important matters of educational policy, and they are deserving of a systematic inquiry that should take into account the extraordinary diversity in U.S. higher education.

A second area of particular concern is the recruitment process that brings foreign students to U.S. campuses. We reported earlier that several attitudes prevail with respect to recruitment: it is generally frowned upon as being "inappropriate," ostensibly because it could compromise academic standards or because it accentuates embarrassingly the economic needs of an institution; it is, nonetheless, carried out sometimes formally and systematically but more often informally and in an ad hoc fashion; and few have any overall sense of the practices that are in fact being carried out or whether certain recruitment practices could be adopted that would strengthen the institution both intellectually and financially. Recruitment of foreign students is an extraordinarily sensitive subject on most campuses. Administrators and faculty consistently voiced strong views on the subject despite, in many cases, the absence of data. Little thought, for example, has been given to comparing the similarities and differences—organizationally, intellectually, and financially—of recruitment of the foreign student and recruitment of the highly desirable out-of-state student. In short, it seems evident that much of the myth and emotion associated with this activity needs to be stripped away if more effective decision-making techniques are to be applied to the admission of foreign students.

A related point we heard stressed was the need for U.S. admissions officers to become far more knowledgeable about the educational systems of foreign countries in order to be in a better position to evaluate the credentials of the foreign applicant. In this regard the American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers has provided an important service by commissioning pamphlets that describe in considerable detail the educational structure, idiosyncratic features, and strengths and weaknesses of particular foreign educational systems. More of these studies need to be produced, updated, and placed in the hands of admissions officers to help the foreign-student evaluatory process.

Finally, we found that few U.S. officials had a very well-formulated understanding of why foreign students wished to study in the United States or how it is that they come to study here. Various hunches were offered: the quality of particular U.S. institutions, programs, and professors; the prestige of a U.S. degree in a foreign student's home country; the fact that friends, relatives, or professional colleagues had studied in the United States; the desire for a "back-door" entrance to U.S. citizenship; and several others. Moreover, the issue is complicated

by the fact that at times foreign governments work as unitary decision makers, seeking to place scores of their officials or students in a variety of U.S. institutions, each government acting autonomously. The condition of centralized suppliers and decentralized recipients produces imperfect and inefficient decision making within institutions. Of special note is the quality or gifted student. Much could be learned from an assessment of the intellectual and professional motivations behind the decisions of talented foreign students to study in this country. Such an analysis would enable institutions to formulate more effective policies that could speak to the objectives of the foreign student who seeks to enroll and could perhaps help to recruit the foreign students whose interests most closely match the resources of the U.S. institution.

VI. Summary and Conclusions

This study has sought to identify the policy issues concerning foreign students that most seriously affect decision makers of U.S. colleges and universities. The principal findings are set out below.

1. Most college and university officials with whom we met place the foreign student low on their list of priorities. Knowledge and interest in the issue is significant only when the percentage of foreign students within particular departments or schools is in excess of 15 to 20 percent of the student body.
2. With some notable counterexamples, most institutions have not thought through in much detail the economic, educational, political, and organizational issues associated with the presence of large numbers of foreign students on their campuses.
3. To the extent that firm views have developed on the question, those with perspectives on the foreign student fall into three distinct groups: those who welcome the foreign student as enriching the fundamental basis of U.S. higher education; those who see the foreign student as a temporary palliative to sustain particular programs during periods of decline in U.S. student enrollment; and those who see the foreign student as an unwanted or even pernicious presence in economic, social, educational, and national security terms.
4. The marginal cost of the foreign student has rarely been computed and a generalizable methodology for such computations would be welcome.

5. The consideration of different pricing approaches to the foreign student requires serious examination.
6. The "humanist presumption" that the foreign student is an enriching educational and social presence on the U.S. campus needs to be supported with stronger evidence.
7. There is little basis at present for determining what the optimal number of foreign students should be in particular educational settings, whether optima do indeed exist, or whether they should be ascertained.
8. Public institutions are especially sensitive to legislative pressure on numbers and tuition of foreign students but are basically reactive to such pressures and have not developed for themselves or for the legislators a clear and comprehensive sense of the costs and benefits of the foreign student.
9. Issues of economic protectionism and national security are becoming highly salient in relations between government and major research universities, issues that have direct bearing on foreign-student enrollments and the open traditions of academe.
10. If significant numbers of foreign students remain in the United States and if some of those who return home have acquired training too sophisticated for their more primitive economies, the net effect for many countries that send their students to the United States may be more "brain drain than brain gain."
11. Institutions could benefit from self-study of the foreign-student issue that would examine questions of pricing, numbers, quotas, recruitment, services, and new policy initiatives.
12. Issues deserving of national attention include a methodology for calculating the marginal cost of the foreign student; the determination of the occupation and place of residence of foreign students upon graduation; an assessment of relations between institutions and the INS; and the identification of motivations that bring the foreign student to the United States.

During the 1980s and beyond the foreign student in the United States is likely to become an increasingly significant force in economic, educational, political, and social terms. Up to now absence of decision has more often than not characterized the approach to the issue. This is a luxury, like many others, that we are no longer able to afford.

Appendix

Positions of Interviewees

I. New York and Washington, D.C.

Preliminary discussions with officials of the

1. Institute of International Education
2. National Association for Foreign Student Affairs
3. American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education
4. American Council on Education
5. Association of State Colleges and Universities
6. U.S. Senate Budget Committee
7. Association of University Professors
8. U.S. International Communication Agency

II. Florida

A. Tallahassee

1. *Program Review Coordinator, Board of Regents*
2. *Deputy Chief of Staff, Governor's Office*
3. *Staff Director, House Education Committee*
4. *Staff Director, Senate Education Committee*
5. *Policy Analyst, Postsecondary Education Planning Commission*
6. *Chairman, Program on International Development, Florida State University*
7. *Chancellor, State University System of Florida*
8. *Vice-Chancellor for Academic Programs, State University System of Florida*
9. *Director, Division of Community Colleges*
10. *Deputy Commissioner, Department of Education*
11. *Executive Vice-President, Florida A & M*
12. *Director of Foreign Student Programs, Florida A & M*

B. University of Florida, Gainesville

1. *Dean of the Graduate School*
2. *Dean, School of Engineering*
3. *Assistant Dean, School of Agriculture*
4. *Assistant to the President for International Studies and Programs*
5. *Director of Admissions*
6. *Director of Student Services*
7. *Registrar*
8. *Vice-President for Student Affairs*
9. *Dean, Liberal Arts and Sciences*
10. *Associate Dean, Liberal Arts and Sciences*
11. *Staff Assistant, International Student Center*

C. University of Miami

1. *Vice-President for Student Affairs*
2. *Director, International Student and Scholar Services*
3. *Director of Admissions*
4. *Assistant Director of International Admissions*
5. *Director of Graduate Admissions*
6. *International Student Advisor for Graduate Admissions*
7. *Dean, School of Continuing Studies*
8. *Associate Dean, School of Continuing Studies*
9. *Assistant Dean of Special Projects, School of Continuing Studies*
10. *Provost*
11. *Associate Provost*
12. *Director of International Student Programs, School of Law*
13. *Associate Dean, College of Arts and Sciences*
14. *Dean, School of Engineering and Architecture*
15. *Associate Dean, Graduate Programs and Research, School of Business*
16. *Dean, School of Education and Allied Professions*
17. *Dean, School of Marine and Atmospheric Science*
18. *Associate Dean, School of Engineering and Architecture*
19. *Chairman, Department of Industrial Engineering*
20. *Professor of Civil Engineering*
21. *Associate Dean, School of Education and Allied Professions*
22. *Assistant Dean, School of Music*
23. *Director, International Medical Education*
24. *Director of Intensive English*

D. Miami-Dade Community College, Miami

1. *Director, Admissions and Registration Services*
2. *Dean of Students*
3. *Dean, Academic Affairs*
4. *Chairperson, International Students*
5. *Vice-President, Education*

E. Florida International University, Miami

1. *Director, Student Development Services*
2. *Director, International Student Services and Programs*
3. *Vice-President, Student Affairs*
4. *President*
5. *Associate Director, Admissions*
6. *Director, Admissions*
7. *Associate Dean, College of Arts and Sciences*
8. *Dean, School of Hospitality Management*
9. *Dean, International Affairs Center*
10. *Director, Intensive English*
11. *Dean, School of Technology*
12. *University Controller*
13. *Assistant Dean, School of Business*
14. *Coordinator, Graduate Counseling, School of Business*

III. California

A. Berkeley and Sacramento

1. *Foreign Student Adviser, University of California, Berkeley*
2. *Associate Dean, Graduate School of Public Policy, University of California, Berkeley*
3. *Vice-Chancellor, University of California, Berkeley*
4. *Associate Dean, College of Engineering, University of California, Berkeley*
5. *Director, Institute of International Studies, University of California, Berkeley*
6. *Vice-President, University of California System, Sacramento*
7. *Director of Legislative Affairs, University of California System, Sacramento*
8. *Legislative Assistant, Education Subcommittee, Ways and Means Committee, California State Legislature*
9. *Representative of University of California System, Sacramento*

B. Stanford University, Stanford

1. *Associate Dean, Graduate School of Business*
2. *Associate Dean, Graduate Studies and Research*
3. *Chairman, Department of Electrical Engineering*
4. *Vice-Provost and Dean, Graduate Studies and Research*

C. University of California, Los Angeles

1. *Director, International Students and Scholars*
2. *Director, Graduate Admissions*
3. *Assistant Director, Undergraduate Admissions and Relations with Schools*
4. *Dean, School of Engineering and Applied Sciences*
5. *Vice-Chancellor, Institutional Relations*
6. *Director, Japan Exchange Program*
7. *Director, Council on International and Comparative Studies*
8. *Professor of Political Science*
9. *Dean, Graduate Division*
10. *Vice-Chancellor for Research*

D. University of Southern California, Los Angeles

1. *Vice-Provost*
2. *Director, International Admissions*
3. *Professor of Linguistics*
4. *Associate Vice-President, Academic Affairs*
5. *Executive Director, International Students and Scholars*
6. *President*
7. *Professor of Social Work*
8. *Dean, School of Engineering*

E. Los Angeles City College, Los Angeles

1. *Chancellor*
2. *Assistant Dean, International Education*

F. California State College and University System (CSCUS) and California State University at Long Beach (CSULB)

1. *Assistant to Vice-Chancellor, CSCUS*
2. *Dean, International Programs, CSCUS*
3. *President, CSULB*
4. *Dean, School of Business, CSULB*
5. *Dean, School of Engineering, CSULB*
6. *Vice-President, CSULB*
7. *Five faculty, College of Arts and Sciences*

G. Claremont Graduate School, Claremont

1. *President*
2. *Executive Vice-President*
3. *Professor of International Relations*
4. *Director, Admissions*
5. *Director, Financial Aid*
6. *Five faculty and administrative officers*

IV. Ohio

A. Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland

1. *Professor of Mechanical and Aerospace Engineering*
2. *Chairman, Department of Computer Science*
3. *Professor of Chemical Engineering*
4. *Professor of Systems Engineering*
5. *Professor of Astronomy*
6. *Professor of Chemistry*
7. *Professor of Physics*
8. *Chairman, Department of Operations Research*
9. *Professor, School of Information Science*
10. *Professor, School of Social Work*

B. Oberlin College, Oberlin

1. *Associate Dean*
2. *Dean of the College*
3. *Associate Dean, Admissions*
4. *Director, Student Affairs*
5. *Two administrative officers*

C. Ohio University, Athens

1. *Associate Provost, International Programs*
2. *Director, International Education*
3. *Director, International Student and Faculty Service*
4. *Vice-President and Dean of Students*
5. *President*
6. *Dean, University College*
7. *Dean, College of Arts and Sciences*
8. *Dean, College of Business Administration*
9. *Associate Dean, College of Engineering*
10. *Vice-President, University Relations*
11. *Chairman, Department of Linguistics*
12. *Provost*
13. *Associate Provost, Graduate Study and Research*
14. *Director, Analytical Services*
15. *Associate Director, Admissions*

D. Denison University, Granville

1. *President*
2. *Provost*
3. *Dean, Admissions*
4. *Director, Financial Aid*
5. *Professor of Mathematics*
6. *Professor of French*
7. *Professor of Political Science*

E. Ohio State University, Columbus

1. *Director, International Programs*
2. *President*
3. *Dean, College of Engineering*
4. *Dean, Graduate School*
5. *Acting Associate Provost*
6. *Two members, Board of Regents*
7. *Director, International Student and Scholar Service*
8. *Associate Chairman, Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology*
9. *Graduate Committee Chairman, Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology*
10. *Director, Latin American Studies*
11. *Professor of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology*
12. *Associate Dean, College of Education*
13. *Director, International Studies*
14. *Associate Dean, College of Administrative Sciences*
15. *Chairman, Department of Physics*

V. Other Universities

A. Columbia University, New York

1. *Provost*
2. *Vice-Dean, Graduate School of Business*
3. *Assistant Director of Student Affairs, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences*
4. *Professor of Law*
5. *Manager of Personnel Services*
6. *Senior Lecturer, American Language Program, School of General Studies*
7. *Vice-Dean, School of Engineering and Applied Science*
8. *Foreign Student Adviser*

B. Michigan State University, East Lansing

1. *Dean, International Studies and Programs*
2. *Assistant Dean, International Studies and Programs*
3. *Associate Dean, School of Agriculture*
4. *Dean, School of Natural Science*
5. *Dean, School of Business*
6. *Associate Dean, School of Education*
7. *Dean, School of Engineering*
8. *Director, African Studies Center*
9. *Provost*
10. *Vice-President, Research Development and Dean, Graduate School*